

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 OMB-01 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

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C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 1829

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PBOR EG IS

SUBJECT: REPORTED AHRAH ARTICLE HINTING AT NEW
DIPLOMATIC FLEXIBILITY

REF: STATE 118845

1. JUNE 17 ARTICLE BY MOHAMMAD SID AHMAD RUNS ALONG FOLLOW-
ING LINES:

(A) WHAT IS MAXIMUM THAT CAN BE EXTRACTED FROM SC
DEBATE ON ME? IN PRESENT ADJOURNMENT PERIOD IT MAY BE
POSSIBLE TO " CRYSTALLIZE A RESOLUTION NOT LIMITED TO
DENOUNCING OCCUPATION BUT SERVING...(TO) ACTUALLY
INTRODUCE TANGIBLE RESULTS TOWARDS PUTTING AN END TO THE
OCCUPATION."

(B) ARABS MAY RESORT TO " WEAPONS" OF THREATS OF
ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ACTION WHILE MAINTAINING MAXIMUM
DEMANDS ON DIPLOMATIC LEVEL. INSISTENCE ON MAXIMUM
DEMANDS, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT OBSTRUCT OTHER OPPORTUNITIES
FOR REGAINING TERRITORY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC ACTION, OR
PLAY INTO ISRAEL' S HANDS.

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(C) CAN SC RES 242 BE REVIVED AT THIS TIME? MOST AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE RECENTLY BEEN REACHED HAVE ELEMENT OF AMBIGUITY, PERMITTING PARTIES SUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY TO CREATE A "STATE OF SETTLEMENT" OUT OF A "STATE OF CONFLICT." RES. 242 CONTAINS SPECIAL AMBIGUITY, THAT OF CLAUSE REGARDING WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES.

(D) ARAB INTERPRETATION IS THAT OF FULL WITHDRAWAL TO PRE- JUNE 5 BORDERS. ISRAEL REJECTS THIS TOTALLY, AND REFUSES TO STATE WHICH BOUNDARIES SHE WILL WITHDRAW TO UNTIL THESE ARE AGREED UPON IN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. BY THIS, ISRAEL LEAVES DOOR OPEN FOR EXPANSION ON GROUNDS OF SECURITY, BUT ALSO DEPRIVES ARABS OF LEGAL GROUNDS TO COMPEL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL. THE ARABS' INSISTENCE ON WITHDRAWAL AS ESSENTIAL IN APPROACH TO IMPLEMENT 242 HAS PUT SC DELIBERATIONS IN DILEMMA. THIS IS BEING USED BY ISRAEL TO OBSTRUCT IMPLEMENTATION OF 242 AND DEMAND APPROACH OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

(E) DILEMMA IS CAUSED BY FACT THAT SC RES 242 SIMULTANEOUSLY STATES INADMISSABILITY OF ACQUIRING TERRITORY BY FORCE, AND CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL TO SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. EITHER PRINCIPLE IS NOT VALID ALONE AS BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT. ESSENCE OF SETTLEMENT " IS NOT SIMPLY PROVIDING SECURITY FOR ISRAEL IN RETURN FOR SOVEREIGNTY FOR EGYPT-- AS SUGGESTED IN FORMULA PROPOSED BY NIXON LATELY-- BUT AGREEING TO BOUNDARIES WHICH ENSURE REQUIREMENTS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, INCLUDING THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE."

(F) MOST USEFUL APPROACH TO REVITALIZE 242 IS THAT SC ASK ISRAEL TO DEFINE OFFICIALLY ITS MAP FOR SECURE BOUNDARIES. IF SC MEMBERS FIND THIS MAP MEETS REQUIREMENTS OF TWO ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF 242, THEN COUNCIL MAY DEMAND THAT ARABS NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL TO FULLY IMPLEMENT 242

2. WE HAVE LEARNED FROM INDIRECT, BUT RELIABLE, SOURCE THAT DPA PIECE WAS WRITTEN BY EGYPTIAN EMPLOYEE NABIL MEGALLY IN ABSENCE FROM EGYPT OF DPA BUREAU CHIEF HARDT. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, MAGELLY'S " OBSERVERS IN CAIRO" CONFIDENTIAL

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REFERS TO AHAM' S HAMDI FUAD WHO STATED THAT HEYKAL HAD PERSONALLY AUTHORIZED SID AHMAD' S ARTICLE.

3. IF ATTRIBUTION TO HEYKAL IS TRUE, ARTICLE IS SOMEWHAT OF A PUZZLER. FIRST OF ALL, VARIOUS SOURCES AND SOME EXTERNAL EVIDENCE SUGGEST THAT HEYKAL' S " AUTHORITATIVENESS" IS CURRENTLY IN QUESTION. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT IN ANY

CASE THAT BOTH HE AND AHRAH HAVE BEEN MOVING DOWNWARD IN RELATIVE IMPORTANCE TO AKHBAR AS THE VOICE OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND HEYKAL HIMSELF HAS NOT SEEN FIT IN RECENT MONTHS TO ENGAGE IN SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL DISCOURSE. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT HEYKAL HAS LOST INFLUENCE, ONLY THAT HE HAS PUT DAYLIGHT BETWEEN HIMSELF AND SADAT ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT ISSUES. OUR BEST INFORMATION IS THAT HE REMAINS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL INSTITUTION, EVEN A FORCE, IN HIS OWN RIGHT ; AND THAT HE WOULD USE HIS POSITION TO INFLUENCE COURSE OF EVENTS IF HE FELT IT NECESSARY. IT MAY BE THAT SID AHMAD' S ARTICLE IS A SUBTLE ATTEMPT BY HEYKAL TO DO EXACTLY THIS AND THAT, RATHER THAN JEOPARDIZE HIS VIEWS BY HIS PUBLIC ADVOCACY OF THEM, HE HAS CHOSEN TO AIR THEM THROUGH ANOTHER WRITER.

4. WE WILL TRY TO GET MORE INFORMATION ON ORIGINS OF SID AHMAD' S ARTICLE. UNLESS THIS THEME IS REPEATED ELSEWHERE IN COMING WEEKS, WE WOULD COUNSEL CAUTION IN ATTRIBUTING THESE VIEWS TO GOE, OR IN READING INTO THEM INDICATIONS THAT GOE IS BECOMING MORE FLEXIBLE.
GREENE

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